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This research note represents an overview of the USAREC studies of the Hispanic recruiting market. The report presents a sociodemographic profile of Hispanics and highlights of the literature search of studies dealing with recruiting and military service of Hispanics. A compedium of recommendations for Hispanic recruitment is included.



RESEARCH REPORTS DIVISION NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA 93943

Recruiting Command.

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# USAREC STUDIES OF THE HISPANIC RECRUITING MARKET

By
HARDEO SAHAI
February 1984

Approved for Public Release; Distribution Unlimited



Research and Studies Division
Program Analysis and Evaluation Directorate
Fort Sheridan, Illinois 60037

USAREC

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## USAREC RESEARCH NOTES

USAREC research notes are used to disseminate information gained during an ongoing study, prior to publication of the final report in a research memorandum or a study report.

#### DISCLAIMER

The views, opinions, and findings in this report are those of the author and should not be construed as an official Department of the Army position, policy, or decision unless so designated by other authorized documents.

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#### ABSTRACT

This research note represents an overview of the USAREC studies of the Hispanic recruiting market. The report presents a sociodemographic profile of Hispanics and highlights of the literature search of studies dealing with recruiting and military service of Hispanics. A compendium of recommendations for Hispanic recruitment is included.

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## PURPOSE OF USAREC HISPANIC STUDIES

Studies of Hispanic recruiting market were undertaken by the Research and Studies Division, Program Analysis and Evaluation Directorate, U.S. Army Recruiting Command, to learn how to increase the Hispanic participation in the Army.

## Background

- o Population projections indicate that the non-Hispanic military manpower pool will continue to decline until 1990. The size of the 18- through 21-year-old male cohort will shrink about 15 percent (or 1.2 million fewer individuals by 1988) and about 25 percent (or 2 million by 1994).
- o Hispanics constitute the fastest growing, relatively young segment of the U.S. population (approximately 15.9 million in 1983).
- o Although statistics are faulty, Hispanics seem to be underrepresented in the Armed Forces. The military services are apparently unable to attract enough Hispanics into its enlisted and officer ranks. Hispanics who do enlist rarely reenlist after their initial tour of duty.
- o Most Hispanic youths are culturally, "non-mainstream" and "non-acculturated".
- o To attract Hispanics into military, recruiting and manpower policies must be formulated to influence positively their propensity for enlistment and successful military service.

## **Objectives**

- O To learn the socio-demographics of the Hispanic population and how these relate to recruiting.
- o To determine the socio-cultural characteristics which make the enlistment behavior of Hispanics different from the general population.
- o To learn about the performance, social adjustment, job satisfaction, and perception of military service of Hispanic service members.

The findings of the studies will be documented in this research note and the following publications:

1. Studies on Socio-Cultural Issues Involving Hispanics in Military: An Annotated Bibliography, USAREC Research Memorandum 84-2.

Status: The preliminary draft has been typed. Additional writing and editing is ongoing.

2. A Review of Hispanics in the Military, USAREC Study Report 84-1.

Status: The first draft is in preparation, expected publication - April 84.

# HISPANICS: A SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

The Census Bureau has produced a wealth of information on the Hispanic population from the 1980 Census and current surveys. Some salient points are summarized below:

## Population

- o The Hispanic community is a young, diverse, and dynamic group experiencing rapid growth.
- o The Census Bureau reported 9.1 million Hispanics in 1970 and 14.6 million in 1980. Hispanics constituted 6.4 percent of the total population of the United States in 1980. There were about 15.9 million Hispanics in March, 1983 (see figure 1).

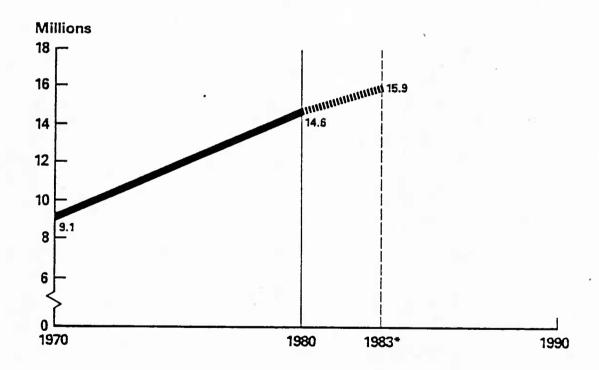


Figure 1. Spanish origin population

SOURCE: U.S. Congress, "The Hispanic Population: A
Demographic and Issue Profile." Hearings
Before the Subcommittee on Census and
Population of the House Committee on Post Office
and Civil Service, (Washington, D.C., Government
Printing Office, 1983), p. 10

## Population Growth

- o The Hispanic growth is attributed to high fertility and substantial immigration from Mexico, Cuba, and other Central and South American countries.
- o All Hispanic groups contributed to the growth during the 1970's.
- o The population of Mexican origin nearly doubled. Both Puerto Rican and Cuban population grew by more than 40 percent, and groups with other Hispanic origin by 19 percent (see figure 2).
- As a result of the large flow of immigrants, about one third of the Hispanic population in 1980 was foreign born. Florida contained the highest proportion (60 percent) of foreign born, California and Illinois ranked second (37 percent), New York third (27 percent), and Texas fourth (19 percent) (see figure 3).

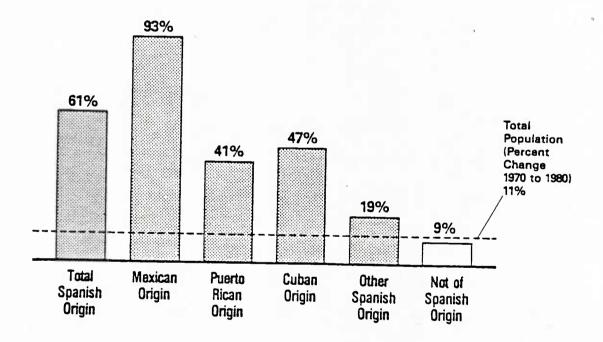
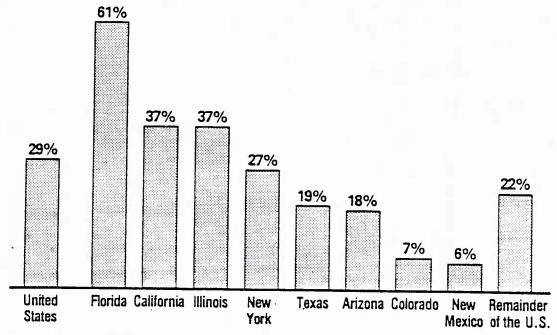


Figure 2. Population growth (percent changes 1970 to 1980)

SOURCE: Ibid., p. 11



Base - Total Spanish origin population in each area.

Figure 3. Percent Spanish foreign born: 1980

SOURCE: Ibid., p. 16

# Population Statistics: 1980

		Projected Growth
Residents and Citizens Undocumented taxpayers Border commuters	14,975,000 8,000,000 2,800,000	1986 - 20M 1990 - 25M 2000 - 41M
Total Hispanic	25 - 775 - 000	

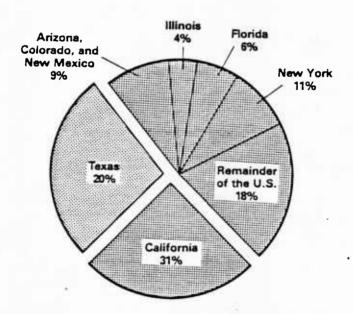
SOURCE: Market Statistics Inc., Strategy Research Corporation

## Subgroup Analysis

- o Hispanic-American population is not monolithic: It encompasses people of various racial/ethnic stocks like black, white, native American, and people of mixed racial/ethnic descent.
- o Three important national groups are: Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban.
- o Each group has different culture, different social and political views, and prefers different food, music, and recreation.
- o Ninety percent of U.S. Hispanics speak Spanish. Barely a majority speak just enough English to get by.

## Geographic Distribution

o Although the growth of the Hispanic population was widespread in 1980, most Hispanics were still concentrated in the five Southwestern states of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas (see figure 4).



Base - Total persons of Spanish Origin in the United States.

Figure 4. Distribution of the Spanish population by state: 1980

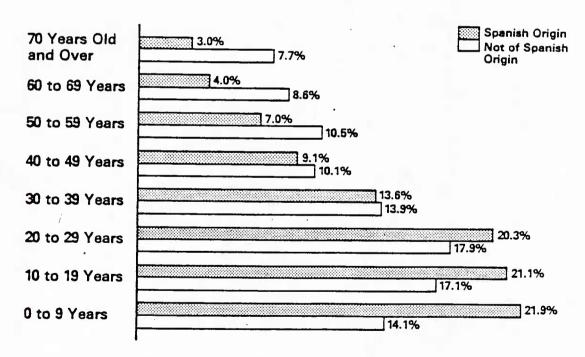
SOURCE: Ibid., p. 12

## Age Composition

- O Hispanics as a whole are younger, on the average, than both the general U.S. population and blacks.
- o High fertility and heavy immigration of young adults account for this youthfulness.
  - Age structure (see figure 5)

	<u>Under 15</u>	65 and Over	Median Age
White	21.3	12.2	31.3
Black	28.7	7.9	24.9
Hispanic	32.0	<u>4.9</u>	23.2
Total	22.6	11.3	30.0

o There are significant age differences among the Hispanic groups: Cubans are oldest, with a median age of 38 years. Puerto Ricans and Mexicans are younger, with a median of 22 years.



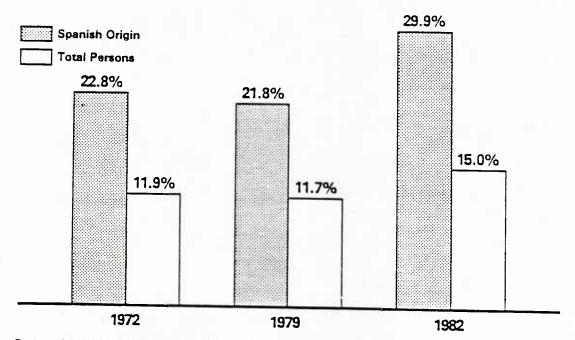
Base - Total population of Spanish origin and not of Spanish origin.

Figure 5. Age composition: 1980

SOURCE: Ibid., p. 15

# Family Composition

- O Hispanic families are more likely to have children than non-Hispanic ones.
- o In 1980, two-thirds of Hispanic families had children, compared to one-half of non-Hispanic ones.
- o Average number of children per family is higher for Hispanics.
- O Percentage of families maintained by women are higher for Hispanics than for non-Hispanics (see figure 6).

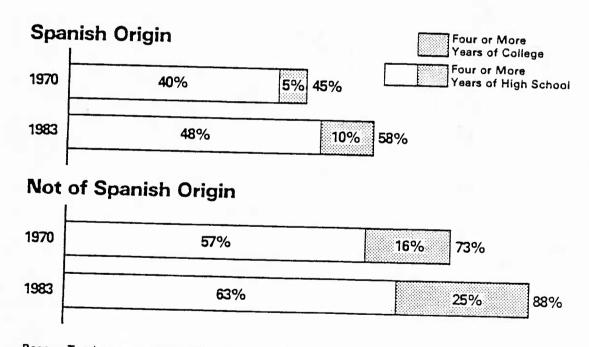


Base — Total, all persons and persons of Spanish origin for whom poverty status is determined.

Figure 6. Families maintained by women (percent of all families) SOURCE: Ibid., p. 14

## Education

- o Educational attainment of young Hispanics is improving rapidly; however, Hispanics still lag behind blacks and far behind whites in average educational attainment (see figure 7).
- o In 1983, 58 percent of young Hispanics were high school graduates, cαnpared to 45 percent in 1970.
- o In 1983, 10 percent were college graduates, compared to 5 percent in 1970.
- o Hispanics have higher school dropout rates and poorer performance on SAT than the general population. This is commonly attributed to their lack of English language skills and poorer academic preparation.
- o There are striking differences in Hispanic subgroups. Cubans and recent legal immigrants from Central and South American countries tend to be better educated than Mexicans and Puerto Ricans.



Base — Total persons of Spanish origin and not of Spanish origin 25 to 34 years old.

Figure 7. Educational attainment (persons 25 to 34 years old)

SOURCE: Ibid., p. 15

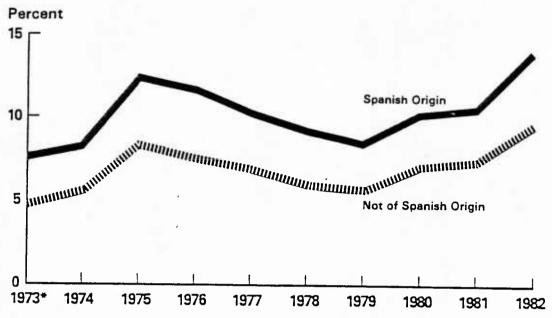
## **Employment**

- o Hispanics are clustered in low-paying blue collar and semi-skilled jobs, presumably because of their level of education and English language deficiencies.
- o Table 1 shows the labor participation rates for Hispanics and all U.S. adults, by sex.
- o Hispanic women's employment rates are generally 7.5 percent to 12 percent lower than those of all adult women, and Hispanic men had rates slightly less than those of the total male population, except at ages 20 through 24 and 55 and older.
- o Since 1973, Hispanic unemployment rate has been around one and a half times that of non-Hispanics (see figure 8).

Table 1. Labor force participation rates of Hispanics and all U.S. adults, by sex: 1980

	Percent in labor force					
Age group	All	Hispanic men	All women	Hispanio		
Total, 20 and over	79.4	85.2	51.3	48.8		
20-24	86.0	88.2	69.9	57.1		
25-34	95.3	93.5	65.4	53.9		
35-44	95.5	94.1	65.5	56.0		
45-54	91.2	91.0	59.9	52.0		
55-64	72.3	72.5	41.5	32.9		
65 and over	19.1	19.4	8.1	4.9		

SOURCE: Dennis M. Roth, "Hispanics in the U.S. Labor Force:
A Brief Review," in Congressional Research Service,
The Hispanic Population of the United States: An
Overview, report prepared for the Subcommittee on
Census and Population of the House Committee on
Post Office and Civil Service (Washington, D.C.,
Government Printing Office, 1983), Table 1, p. 60



<sup>\*</sup>First year for which data are available.

Base — Persons of Spanish origin and not of Spanish origin 16 years old and over in the civilian labor force.

Figure 8. Unemployment rates (annual averages)

SOURCE: U.S. Congress, "The Hispanic Population:

A Demographic and Issue Profile."

Hearings Before the Subcommittee on

Census and Population of the House

Committee on Post Office and Civil

Service, (Washington, D.C., Government

Printing Office, 1983), p. 18

## Occupation

- O Hispanic workers remain concentrated mainly in lower paid and less skilled occupations.
- o Table 2 gives the occupations of Hispanics and all workers in 1981, by sex.
- o In 1982 about one-fourth of Hispanics were in operative occupations, twice the proportion for non-Hispanics. About 9 percent of Hispanics were in professions and technical occupations, half the proportion for non-Hispanics.

Table 2. Occupations of Hispanic and all workers, by sex: 1981

(Numbers in percent of total workers, by sex)

	All w	All workers Tot		Total Hispanics Mexican		American	Puerti	Rican	Cu	ban
Occupation	Men	Nomen	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Professional									·	
and technical Managers,	15.9	17.0	7.7	8.8	5.7	8.0	8.5	11.6	12.9	9.9
Administrators	14.6	7.4	7.8	4.7	6.3	4.3	6.9	6.1	14.5	5.5
Sales	6.1	6.8	3.1	5.1	2.6	5.2	2.6	3.0	6.2	4.9
Clerical	6.3	34.7	6.4	31.9	5.0	32.4	13.1	36.4	9.4	31.9
Craft and kindred						<b>32.</b> •	73.1	30.4	3.4	31.9
workers Operatives,	20.7	1.9	20.1	2.4	20.9	2.5	15.4	2.5	20.7	2.2
except transport Transport equipment	11.1	9.7	18.9	22.0	20.2	21.6	20.6	25.8	12.5	29.7
operatives Nonfarm	5.5	0.7	6.6	0.4	6.8	0.5	6.2	0.5	6.6	_
laborers Service	7.1	1.3	10.9	1.6	12.7	2.2	8.5	0.5	7.4	1.1
workers arm	8.9	19.4	13.3	21.4	12.2	21.1	17.6	13.1	9.4	14.8
workers	3.9	1.1	5.2	1.6	7.5	2.5	0.3	0.5	0.4	

SOURCE: Roth, "Hispanics in the U.S. Labor Force" (See Table 1)

## Income

- o Table 3 shows the median income of Hispanic and other families.
- o On the average, income levels of Hispanic families were lower than those for non-Hispanics.
- o In 1972, the median Hispanic family income (\$17,790) was about 71 percent of the median for white families. In 1981, it was still just 70 percent of the median for whites.
- o The median in 1982 was about \$16,000 compared wilth a median of \$24,000 for non-Hispanics.
- o There were substantial differences in Hispanic groups (see figure 9).

Table 3. Median income of Hispanic, Black, and White families: 1972-1981

ı	in	constant	1981	dollare)
3	41.1	COMBIGNI	1301	uuliaisi

_	Media	Hispanic famili		
Year	Hispanic	Black	White	percent of white income
1972	17,790	14,922	25,107	71
1973	17,836	14,877	25,777	69
1974	17,594	14,765	24,728	71
1975	16,140	14.835	24,110	67
1976	16,390	14,766	24.823	66
1977	17,141	14,352	25,124	68
1978	17,518	15,166	25,606	68
1979	18.255	14.590	25,689	71
1980	16.242	13,989	24,176	67
1981	16,401	13,266	23,517	70

SOURCE: Bureau of Census, "Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1981 (Advance Data From the March 1982 Current Population Survey)," Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 134 July 1982, Table 3

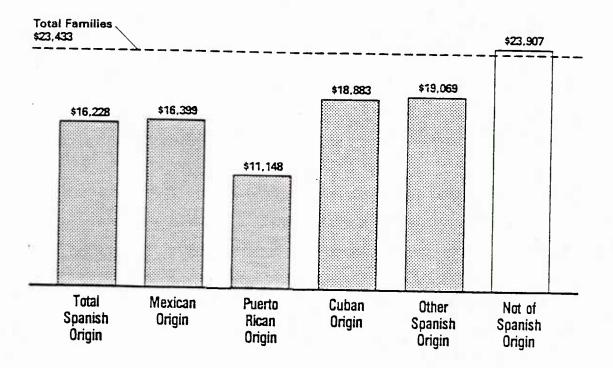


Figure 9. Median family income in 1982

SOURCE: U.S. Congress, "The Hispanic Population: A

Demographic and Issue Profile." Hearings

Before the Subcommittee on Census and

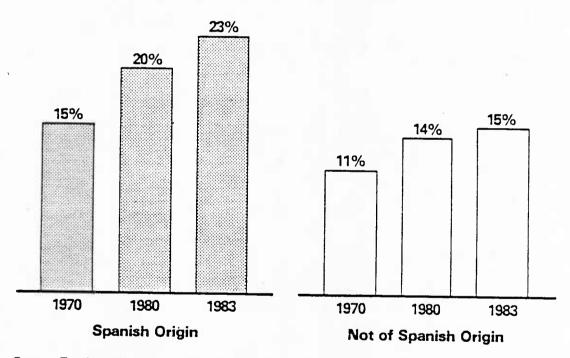
Population of the House Committee on Post Office

and Civil Service, (Washington, D.C., Government

Printing Office, 1983), p. 19

## Poverty

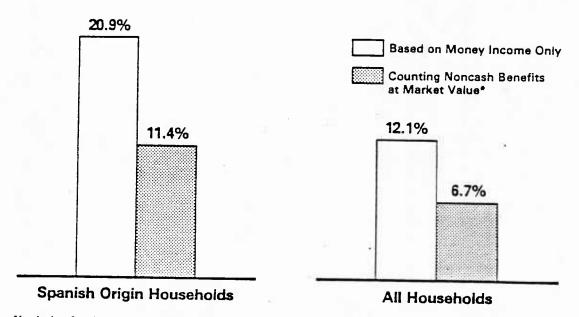
- o The poverty rates for Hispanics have been consistently higher than for the total population.
- o The proportion of Hispanics below the poverty level in 1982 was very high about 30 percent and represented a sharp increase over the 1979 and the 1972 rates (see figure 10).
- o The poverty rates for Hispanic households have also been higher than for all households though inclusion of market value of public assistance programs reduced the percentage of poor Hispanic households from 21 percent to 11 percent in 1979 (see figure 11).
- o The recent recession and associated rise in unemployment contributed to the increase in the poverty rate.



Base - Total number of families of Spanish origin and not of Spanish origin.

Figure 10. Poverty rates of persons

SOURCE: Ibid., p. 20



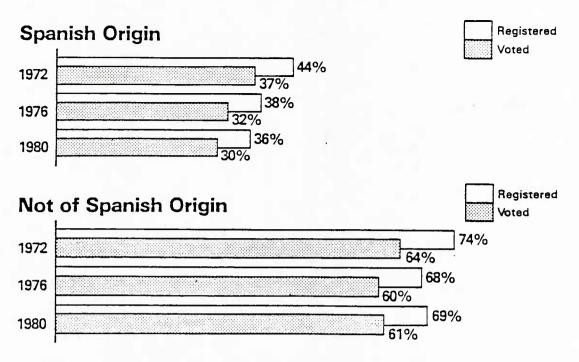
<sup>\*</sup>Includes food stamps, free or reduced-price school lunches, public housing, medicaid, and medicare.

Figure 11. Poverty rates for households: 1979

SOURCE: Ibid., p. 21

# Political Participation

- o In the last two Presidential elections, the registration levels and voting participation of Hispanics were lower than in 1972.
- o In 1980, 36 percent of Hispanics had registered; only 30 percent voted.
- O Voter registration and participation rates were lower for Hispanics than for non-Hispanics (see figure 12).



Base - Persons 18 years old and over of Spanish origin and not of Spanish origin.

Figure 12. Voting and registration SOURCE: Ibid., p. 17

# Military Participation

- o At present, there is no accurate and reliable system of counting Hispanic service members.
- o Several attempts by the military to take a census of its ethnic population have met with frustrating disappointment.
- o Statistics on Hispanics are currently obtained through selfidentification by service members. Studies indicate that many Hispanics, anticipating stereotypical animosity or prejudice, prefer not to report their ethnic origin.
- o Table 4 shows the reported military participation of Hispanics by Services.
- o Proportion of Hispanics participating in the military appears to be well below their share of the general population.
- O Hispanics also seem to be considerably underrepresented in the officer ranks.

Table 4. Hispanics in the military, by Service

USN	MC	CG	USA	USAF
545 ( .65%)	183 ( .27%)	54 ( .81%)	1,239 (1.3%)	753 (1.7%)
14,631 (3.1%)	8,947 (5.1%)	1,077 (3.5%)	30,445 (4.4%)	18,696 (3.9%)
15,176 (2.8%)	9,150 (4.7%)	1,131 (3.0%)	31,654 (4.0%)	20,449 (3.5%)

SOURCE: Navy Times, March 1982

## RECOMMENDATIONS FOR HISPANIC RECRUITMENT

Based on the knowledge gained from the review of the literature the following recommendations are made:

- 1. Develop an accurate system of identifying Hispanics during the enlistment process, and conduct a census of Hispanics in the Army to obtain reliable statistics on Hispanic participation in the Army.
- 2. Develop a training program to help recruiters penetrate Hispanic communities.
- 3. Increase Army and recruiter visibility in the Hispanic communities by participation in "fiestas" and other community activities.
- Conduct more educational awareness visits by the regional recruiting officers, coordinated with local Hispanic leaders, parents groups, and school counselors.
- 5. Establish a national and regional coordinator of Hispanic (or minority) recruitment.
- 6. Increase Army ROTC programs in states with high concentration of Hispanics, including Puerto Rico, to attract potential officers.
- 7. Support establishment of remedial English schools, like the one established by the National Guard in Puerto Rico. Funding through CETA, Vocational or Adult Education may be obtained to sponsor this type of school.
- 8. Explore the feasibility of administering a Spanish version of ASVAB to the Hispanics whose primary language is Spanish.
- 9. Use local and national Spanish language advertising, tailored to specific Hispanic ethnic groups.
- 10. Develop a method to locate high quality Hispanic youth by zip code and target direct mail Spanish advertising to penetrate the market.
- 11. Assign bilingual or Hispanic recruiters to recruit in Hispanic areas.
- 12. Assign Spanish-speaking career counselors within the MEPS to assist Hispanic recruits with Army career choices.
- 13. Conduct additional research on the issues of Hispanic representation in the Army, in support of developing policies and programs for attracting more Hispanics.

#### HIGHLIGHTS OF LITERATURE SEARCH

- One Navy study shows that even though Hispanics had lower aptitude and motivational scores; on the average, they tended to do as well as other Service members on performance measures. Authors recommended that Navy can select Hispanics for technical training whose chances of remaining on the job are quite good.
- o Hispanic recruits have deficiency in the verbal English comprehension skills necessary to complete recruit training. High percentage of recruits fail English language comprehension test.
- O The number one problem facing second language soldiers (specifically Hispanics) is their inability to function in the English language. Cultural differences also constitute an important barrier to successful adjustment to Army life.
- o Those not adaequately proficient in English tend to get poor AFQT scores and are, consequently, placed in combat and non-technical MOS.
- o The use of Spanish surnames as a means of identifying Hispanics presents some thorny problems. In some areas, Spanish surname recognition includes a high proportion of persons who do not meet other criteria, such as Latin-American birth or ancestry.
- o One Navy study investigating the relationship between religious orientation, beliefs in the occult and supernatural, and locus of control of Hispanic and mainstream Navy recruits found that:
  - Beliefs in the occult and external locus of control are positively correlated.
  - Beliefs in the occult and theistic externality are negatively correlated.
  - Theistic externality and religiosity are positively correlated.
  - Both theistic externality and religiosity are uncorrelated with locus of control.
- One study shows that the Navy is recruiting Hispanics who do not differ in terms of locus of control from mainstream Navy recruits.
- o The results of a Verbal Skill Curriculum program administered to a group of Hispanics (mainly Puerto Ricans), with deficiencies in English Language listening and speaking, show that the language skills were greatly improved though there were significant increases in costs. The attrition rate was significantly lower for recruits participating in the program.

- o A study on acceptability of culture, specifically immigrant behavior, involving Hispanic and mainstream Navy recruits, showed that both groups have a marked preference for biculturalism on the part of immigrants, though Hispanics are more in favor of using only their native language.
- One Air Force study describes that several attempts by the military to take a census of its ethnic population have met with frustrating disappointment.
- o One study attempting to examine the low rate of commissioning of Army officers, compared to the proportion of their enrollment in ROTC, comes to the conclusion that cultural and linguistic problems lead to high attrition and decreased competitiveness of Hispanic cadets, which in turn result in reduced Hispanic officer production.
- o One study undertaken to understand and predict the development of certain bicultural characteristics found that subjects whose historical development pattern reflected more experience with Mexican-American and mainstream Anglo cultures were more flexible in leadership, more bicognitive, and scored higher on multicultural participation.
- o The major finding of a study examining the Navy's recruiting process was: Only one out of five potential Hispanic recruits are enlisted in the Navy. The major barriers to enlistment are inadequate academic preparation and language skills and to a lesser degree, intense family attachment, Puerto Rican nationalism, and inadequate time allowed to make career decisions.
- o One study examining the salient values of Hispanic and mainstream Navy recruits found that Hispanic Navy recruits are unrepresentative of the Hispanic population. For most Hispanics, the most important reason for joining the Navy is economic.
- o An anthropological study of a San Diego, California, Hispanic barrio found that the barrio can be a source of recruitment, provided adequate attention is paid to understanding of the sociocultural factors relevant to the members of these groups.
- o A study investigating the nature of work related values of Hispanic recruits found that the mainstream and Hispanic recruits who join the Navy are generally similar in their work values and modernity, although mainstream recruits tend to be somewhat higher on socioeconomic status.
- One study examines the problems that Hispanics face during Navy recruiting because of English language deficiencies. Hispanics have lower aptitude test scores and more difficulties in recruit training than other recruits. They have a higher attrition rate and more difficulty with academic tests. The Navy needs an "English as a Second Language" training program; lowered attrition would pay for the program.

- o Hispanics are allocentric, i.e., they pay much attention to the needs, goals, values, and points of view of others, while mainstream subjects exhibit more idiocentric behavior, that is their social behavior is largely determined by their personal goals, attitudes and values.
- o A study investigating the differences in the social attitudes of Hispanic and mainstream Navy recruits found that the stereotype of Hispanics as more religious is not supported by the data.
- Majority of studies have found that the contact behavior is more acceptable to Hispanics. However, a study by the Navy found that the hypothesis was not supported by the data collected from responses to Hispanic and mainstream Navy recruits. This may be due to Hispanics responding in terms of increasing their social desirability in the context of the majority Anglo culture.
- o A study showed that Navy recruiting policies favor enlistment of high quality Hispanic recruits. Some Hispanics with high needs for achievement perceive the Navy as a place to obtain the training that may help them to better their socioeconomic status.
- A study on moderately acculturated and bicultural Hispanic recruits indicate that they enjoy both Spanish and English TV, movies, musical programs, and neighborhoods, and have some mainstream friends and romantic partners. Highly acculturated Hispanics indicate that they enjoy mostly English TV and movies, have many mainstream friends, neighbors, and romantic partners, and enjoy mostly English musical programs.
- A study by the Navy showed that there are no differences between Hispanic and mainstream Navy recruits in terms of values linked to nature, being, present time orientation, lineality, collectivism, individuality, uncertainty avoidance, and level of educational aspiration. However, there are subtle differences. The mainstream recruits emphasize individualistic values honest, conservative, moderate, while Hispanics emphasize interpersonal values to be sensitive, simpatico, loyal, dutiful, gracious, and conforming.
- o A study by the Navy indicated that Hispanic and mainstream Navy recruits do not differ much in relation to preferred attributions of causality for achievement-related events. Both groups show a self serving bias, i.e., they took more responsibility for their successes than for the failures. They also attribute their failure to a lack of effort rather than a lack of ability.
- o A study concerning similarities and differences between Hispanic and mainstream Navy recruits on familism found that both Hispanic and mainstream recruits are equally willing to make a sacrifice in order to be present in a crisis situation with the family, although Hispanics extend this willingness to celebrations with both the extended and nuclear family.

- O A study investigating the cultural script, known as "simpatia", among Hispanic and mainstream recruits found that Hispanics expect more positive behavior in positive social situations and deemphasize the appropriateness of negative behavior in situations of conflict. Thus, they want to receive compliments if they do a good job and even mild expression of criticism might be seen as extreme.
- A comparison of samples of Navy members to worldwide norms found that Navy samples are extremely high on Power Distance, Uncertainity Avoidance and Masculinity, and close to U.S. mean (i.e., high) on individualism. There are differences between Hispanic and mainstream respondents in Power Distance, Uncertainity Avoidance, Collectivism. However, contrary to expectations, mainstream members were higher on masculinity. The more acculturated the Hispanics, the more similar they were to mainstream members. Hispanics give more weight to interpersonal relationships than do the mainstream members.
- o A study by the Navy found that Hispanic recruits differ from the kinds of Hispanics described in the literature. Hispanic Navy recruits have a more positive autostereotype and view the mainstream more favorably than has been reported in the literature. A comparison of different groups (white, black, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Mexican-Americans, and Chicanos) showed clear evidence of ethnocentric bias, that is, each group saw itself as "very good" and the other group as only "good."
- O A study by the Navy found that mainstream Navy recruits experience a strong pull toward work roles and push out of the family; Hispanics, by contrast, experience ambivalence toward work roles and strong pull toward family. Hispanics see more hostility, contempt, and giving and taking of orders in work roles than is the case for mainstreams. Hispanics wuld prefer a more supportive work environment involving less competition and more cooperation.